/416 cont./
281 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them
294 side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, uśwúmi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

283 The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known
●237 as uśwúmi or ūnána, are often used in sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but
[136] a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or beaver (Myocastor coipus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

515 Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appear-
356 ance of the Yamana (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (a) :I, 345 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /cited in English/.

302
442

/423 cont./

describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

[237]

As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to

[57]

102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (a) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither plaited nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this tiñúku uñhuim as playful dawdling, and conveniently loosen their hair with it.

505

Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently the subject of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former sparse body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

[17]

/428 cont./

in the form of a thick paste mixed with seal oil. It is prepared less often in the palm of the left hand, more frequently in a medium-sized Mytilus /429/ shell so that the mixture can be well stirred and evenly applied. The red coloring must be uniform.

As has already been mentioned, in using all three colors they sometimes prefer to mix the powder with oil or blubber instead of using it dry. If they want to make even strokes and precise dots, they cut a suitable painting stick, known as talaxikamána in the dialect of the west, puscitákutasena in the central dialect, derived from ikamána, "to paint," "to draw." The little stick is about ten centimeters long, sharp at one end and smoothly cut off and flattened like a spatula at the other end. It is used to draw lines. If they want to draw dots, they dip the other end into the color and place it on the skin like a stamp. Almost every woman carries this little stick around with her everywhere. The sponsor uses it daily to paint her candidate during the protracted initiation ceremonies, čiexaus. A person who is without one easily and quickly makes himself another (109).

109. Hyades (q):300 speaks of an "awl or spatula of wood" /translated from French/. Moreover, he gives linguistic expressions for the many patterns of drawing and painting, which are given in greater detail and probably complete in BD.

Since the white and, even more, the red pigments are valued, they are carefully kept in a kind of color pouch, known as yîi or yáiyi. For this purpose they like to use the esophagus of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus), known as álakus yáiyi, or the small intestine of seals (110). A piece 25 to 45

110. Hyades (q):350 mentions them as "bags made from the windpipes of seals or porpoises /translated from French/, and Lothrop (b):133, as "small sacks made from the throats of seal" /cited in English/.

/429 cont./

415 237 centimeters long is cut out, sewed up at one end with a straight edge, blown up taut, and immediately tied with tendon fibers at the other end. Sometimes they leave the circular cardiac muscles at the opening of the stomach attached to the lower part. These close automatically, which simplifies the work. This air bubble dries quickly, and the upper part of it is cut off straight. The elongated pouch is filled with pigment only to the middle. The free upper half is pressed flat and rolled down from the upper edge (Fig. 20). This not only makes a safe and convenient closing, but protects the contents against dampness and spilling. Sometimes they also tie a few tendon fibers lengthwise around the rolled packet to keep it closed. The white pigment, tumarapu, nevertheless hardens into a firm lump after a time, but this does not affect its use. Compared with this, the black pigment, yapuike, namely, pounded charcoal, is used far less. It does not pay to take special pains to keep it because it is available everywhere.

302 f22 Much later we shall discuss the significance of the individual colors within the manifold patterns, but here we should like to correct the inaccurate opinion of certain observers who attribute to each color as /430/ such a definite meaning or a single and exclusive significance. Without qualification Dabbene (a):38 maintains that "the three colors, white, black, and red, which are used for painting, have their signification, since they are used respectively, as signs of war, mourning, or joy" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (e):332 is much closer to the truth. He writes: "The external sign of mourning was the face blackened with charcoal. White applied in dots and stripes was the color of revenge for murder, and red was the emblem of friendship and joy." /Fig. 20 appears here./ None of the three colors (111)

111. I herewith reject the inaccurate statements of Fitz-Roy (a):177, Dabbene (a):38 and (b):176, Lothrop (b):126, Spegazzini (a):170, and others. Hyades (q):349 repeats in detail the opinion of Bridges, upon whom Krickeberg: 331 also relies.

/433 cont./
301 population. They prefer a band of guanaco leather two to three centimeters wide. The one of seal leather is less highly valued. The hair and wool is usually scraped off; if not, the woolly side is worn on the inside. This piece is pulled tight to the ankle. They bore a small hole in the end that is somewhat wider, through which they draw the other, pointed end, pull it taut, and prevent it from getting loose by tucking in the free point (see Hyades [q]:349). Often they also pull a string of tendon or a filament of whale bone through the two ends of an even band, /434/ and tie them together with a tight knot. In this case the threads inevitably stick out, which is considered less beautiful; hence some people prefer the first method. /Fig. 21 appears here./ In order to beautify these pieces, they are painted with red pigment (115). One just as often sees the

115. Lothrop (b):125 inaccurately maintains that this leather band is painted white. We are certain this would make it too conspicuous, which is something our Indians like to avoid.

•[237] dried umbilical cord of the otter used as a bracelet. This is up to 30 centimeters long and about nine millimeters wide (Fig. 22). The two ends are tucked under to keep it together. Both pieces are called mun (in the dialect of the east and west) and temungnaka (in the southern dialect).

Contrary to all fact Hyades (q):296 writes that "the women never wear more than one of them on each limb" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, he showed (on Plate 12) three young women who wear this ornament on both ankles and both wrists. The only difference is that the strip of leather on their wrists seems to be noticeably narrower.

[237] Three thin, fine strands of tendon of the guanaco, sea lion, or otter are braided into a simple neck cord, known as asina. /Fig. 22 appears here./ More rarely they choose the stiff fibers of whalebone for it. The free ends are knotted. The knotted cord is drawn over the head to hang freely around the neck. Sometimes the cord is initially braided in such a manner that it can be

[Text continued on page 102.-Analyst]

/434 cont./

301 wound around two or three times, in other words, several meters long. Thicker bunches of tendon are held together by a short thread wound around them crosswise at certain intervals. This neck ornament is called hupuhémak. "These braids are a kind of necklace for only the women; they are arranged in a number of circles, held at a single or at several points /435/ by means of a little strand of hair" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q] :349) (116). Although each of these pieces is in

116. He also says (q):299 about these: "Another type of necklace is made simply by several twists of braid worn at the neck; a glass bead from the French Mission was sometimes hung on this necklace" /translated from French/.

itself greasy, they brush it with fish oil alone or with a mixture [237] of fish oil and red pigment, so that the short fibers do not stick out unattractively.

301 The strings of guanaco tendons separated into fine fibers
237 are generally called amépa uíwimi; those of whale bone, used
283 alike for sewing and braiding, are called wípua uíwimi. On these simple braided tendons the Indians sometimes string short pieces, fairly uniform in length and shape, of the hollow cylindrical bones of a bird, usually the cormorant. More rarely they use the well-known calcareous formations of the tube worm, which they cut into small pieces from 30 to 40 millimeters in length. The smaller and more regular they are, the more they are prized. They sometimes also insert two or four red beaks of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater) at suitable intervals, and for some time [177] now, even coins, glass beads, and other European baubles (117).

117. Wieghardt:23 writes: "The necklace worn in two or three twists around the neck is at times adorned by a beak of the oyster bird [Haematopus ater], animal teeth, or little shells" /translated from Spanish/.

/436 cont./

which occasionally reached the neighboring Haus /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Colini:722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):125, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appears here/ wild swan (Cygnus melancoryphus) are very loosely strung. J.L. Myers:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Onpakh' ouana: this type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young seals, Aouis ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Açina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women: Kipa tapac makou." /translated from French/.

The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/, Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of ornament for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is work for women's hands. The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

411 /468 cont./
[173] introduced by Europeans.

Our Yamana have the lead over the Selk'nam in that they even use bone for arrowheads. The proportion of these to slate and quartz arrowheads can no longer be determined (173). They

173. In any case it is an unjustified generalization when Lothrop (b) 156 maintains: "The arrowhead was of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs" /cited in English/.

also have the triangular shape, but the adjoining tang is wide at the top, between the two lateral corners, and tapers downward. The triangle itself is about 33 millimeters high, whereas the tang is 13 millimeters long. The little teeth on both sides are filed with the fine edges and individual splinters of sandstone. These sides are not sharp since they are slightly rounded; hence these bone points are effective because of the force of the thrust rather than because of their edges which are dull (Fig. 32).

The tang of the points mentioned above is set into the upper notch of the arrow shaft, without being cemented in. They are merely wound tight with a damp thread of sinew which, when dry, gives the desired rigidity. This thread of sinew would be too weak for a bone point. Hence the latter is held in the notch with a narrow strip of leather and by means of much tight lashing. The natives from the start know that now and then the shaft of the arrow will slide off while the bone point remains stuck in a wounded animal.

411 237 Finally, at the opposite end, feathers are added after the model of the Selk'nam arrow. They prefer the hard wing-feathers of the cormorant. "On either side of this extremity they fasten a feather, the quill of which has been split and tied on by means of a fine lashing of bird gut (174) which passes at almost

174. Alfredo assured me that for this lashing the sinews of otter or sea lion are particularly suitable.

uniform intervals between three or four barbs of these small
411 feathers. The feathers are so well attached that one would think

/478 cont./

411 237 This bird spear, as we might call it (Fig. 37), is perceptibly lighter than a harpoon. The fish spear is even lighter. It is the same length and must therefore be as light as possible in order to be handled easily and quickly. For the shaft, a specially selected small trunk of the evergreen beech is used; a partial notch is likewise cut into the thicker end and a shorter bone or wood point with [824] a serrated edge is set in it. For the latter the most suitable wood is that of Berberis ilicifolia which is very tough and flexible. Hence this wooden point, hima ímpa, has the great advantage of durability; it is also incomparably quicker to make than the serrated bone point.

Since the fish offers only a narrow striking surface, the Yamana makes use of the double-pointed spear (184). He selects a shaft that

184. Spears:58 maintains that sometimes even three points were used for the fish spear, "and the barbs were all on the inside" /cited in English/. This is unknown to me and is reported by no other traveler. I saw such fish spears among the Halakwulup, however.

[824] forms a wide octagon in section. He usually cuts it out of Nothofagus betuloides. At the top he cuts out two long, flat notches, opposite each other and separated by a thin layer of wood. Into each one he places a serrated bone point, and both of them are lashed and held fast with the same leather strap. The two points stand slightly apart from each other because the back of each is curved. This considerably increases the possibility of hitting a fish (Fig. 37). /479/ /Fig. 37 appears here./ Even if the point does not penetrate very far, each tooth pointing downward acts as a barbed hook and the shaft as ballast, precluding escape (185).

185. Lothrop (b):153 also mentions a Guanaco-spear" of the eastern Yamana. I believe he bases this on doubtful reports. What he illustrates is obviously the fish spear of the Selk'nam. See Figure 40 in Volume I, 245.

412

/494 cont./
for example, even mentions three kinds of knives.

/495/ Whatever it is they use in the way that we use our knife, it is never put together like the latter, but is nothing more than a bare mussel shell. Hyades (q):200 emphasizes: "The Fuegians do not have an indigenous tool similar to our knife; in its place they use a chisel of shell, or iron if they can get it" /translated from French/. In order to be able to grasp the mussel shell securely for cutting, they first place a thin scrap of leather in the palm of the hand, and by this means they can grasp the shell securely enough. /Fig. 46 appears here./

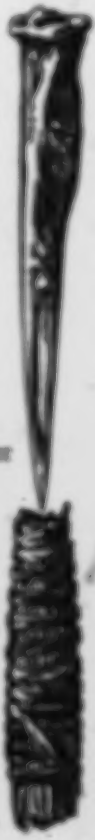

Fig. 46. Punch. Two thirds natural size.

γ. The Punch

The punch or bone awl, ámi, or whatever one wishes to call this tool, is used a great deal. The natives prefer the humerus of a cormorant from which all the meat is removed. The thinner end is broken off and filed to a sharp point. It is now about 13 centimeters long and is easy to handle. Occasionally, however, the bone of another bird is used.

[237]

In order to protect the point, the Indians take a bunch of rush stalks about as thick as one's thumb and lash it with another stalk of the same to hold it together. The point of the punch is stuck into this bundle, wíha, for which they allow a length of about eight centimeters. Because of the packing, the point does not slide out, but is protected as by a sheath (Fig. 46). Sometimes this punch is nothing more than a small whittled stick of the hard wood of a

/496 cont./

412 wedge, 11a, performs even more important services in splitting thin and thick stems for the lower portion of a crab fork or a mussel fork. It is also used to split round as well as rotten tree trunks which are desired for firewood and thicker trunks which are afterwards broken off by body weight.

412 237 Only the large bones of the whale are suitable for wedges. I did not learn whether or not the Indians ever tried to use bones of large seals. Such wedges have been used by the Fuegians since ancient times. Spencer:132 writes: "Many wedges of whale-bone were found in middens on Navarin Island. These are roughly made, more or less parallel-sided, cut and ground at one end to a curved cutting-edge. The other end is squared and most of the examples show signs of crushing by heavy blows at this end, caused, no doubt, when the wedges were driven in for splitting wood. The bone used appears to be cetacean rib, a very suitable material for making wedges..." /cited in English/.

412 The bone wedge is hammered with a stone into a small groove which must first be incised with a knife or scraper. This stone can justifiably be referred to as a hammer only insofar as it is hit against the bone wedge. It is not prepared in any way. For heavier work one looks for a larger and rounded stone with flat sides, which can be comfortably grasped with the fingers without having them meet over it. This keeps the middle surface of the stone free, and this hits the wedge. Inevitably, the portion hit shows definite traces. One often finds the hammer-stones lying around on the shell mounds. Just as the Indians pick up the first stone handy wherever they need it, they heedlessly throw it away at the place where they have finished working with it. Small hammer-stones, so-called hand-pieces, are used every day to open shellfish and to crush animal bones (209). It is

209. Lothrop (3):141 also speaks of the "Hammerstones. These stones never were hafted" /cited in English/. He illustrates one and mentions "five inches" as its length.

obvious that for these simple purposes the stone does not need hafting.

/547 cont./

227 of bits of meat, the tips of a cherry, from a small mussel, or a tiny bit of seal meat, or whatever else the woman happens to have. As soon as the long thread of alga is dipped into the water it is quickly impregnated with moisture. In spite of its extreme flexibility, it is strong enough. As a substitute they also choose a fishline, *ayka* [ayka] *yáshka*, made out of several rovings of braided, tough sinews, *chim* [chim] (Fig. 64). The sinews, *tkeéni*, of the guanaco are well adapted to this because they are long, fine, and durable. If they are not available, sinews of whale, seal, or otter are used. Even heavy fish cannot tear this line. Sometimes the woman flattens the sides of the sinker *áfr*, also *ukkák* according to HD-339, "a sinker [round stone or lead] for fish lines" /cited in English/, rounds the edge, and cuts a shallow notch into it for the thread (281). She goes to the trouble of

Fig. 63. Fishline Made from an Alga Stem. Three-quarters natural size.

281. Hyades (Ic:19 illustrated a stone fashioned in this way and comparable to a sounding lead. Next to it he shows a second fishline "of braided whale tendons with a polished, grooved stone serving as a weight" /translated from French/.

specially shaping the stone only when the fishline is of braided sinews, which is stronger than a line made of an alga stem. In the central part of Beagle Channel the people even use a spherical black stone about four centimeters in diameter, which is provided with a shallow groove for the fishline. According to the old myth about [73] Kinalo-woman-two, this *áfr*, *ukkák*, was said to have been introduced by a woman in ancient times.

/1484 cont./

§12 continued to practice their skill, copying this and that, chiefly parkmin, albeit with very moderate success." Aspinall 271 does not prove his statement that "they have a great talent for drawing."

Inuit or drawings in the sand with their fingers or with small sticks or scribble on the bat framework or the canoe with pieces of charcoal. Although I very often /1485/ wrote and drew in my diary, this did not even stimulate the adults, much less the youngsters, to imitate

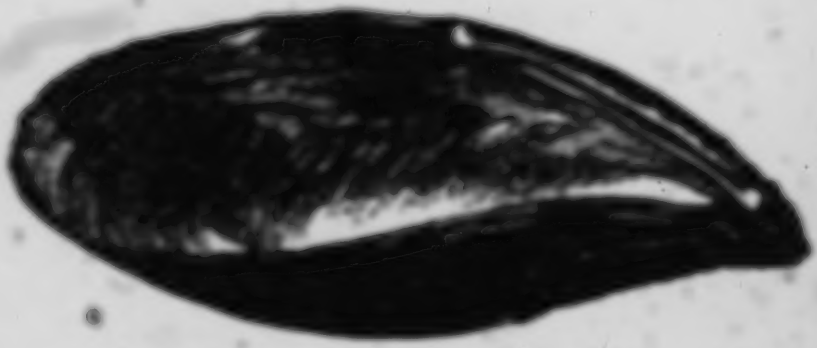

Fig. 102. Shell of a Large Mytilus Mussel. Three-fourths natural size.

me (367).

367. What Snow (x):1, 338 has to say proves the curiosity of the Foxglans in Rainer Cove: "They were all greatly astonished at my writing in pencil on blank paper. . . . and they eagerly begged of me some magic wood. Of course I gave them some, and they soon set to work, trying to write as I did" /cited in English/.

/1465 cont./

2. Art Activity

301 The many occasions that show how much the Yamana loves ornamentation have already been mentioned. For some of the people, body cleanliness is far less important than their desire to please others with the beauty of their bodies or with special ornaments. This type of vanity is consciously instilled even in children, and no one sees anything wrong in it. For this reason many persons acquire several ornaments at once and prefer to display those that are conspicuous or that come from a remote region. There are also persons who paint themselves every day just for the fun of it. Since a visitor, as a rule, is supposed to wear a facial painting when he presents himself (pp. 96, 922), many people spend a great deal of time and effort on it, so that they will be admired. It would not do, however, to maintain with Bove (e): 157: "The eagerness for ornamentation seems to be even stronger among the men than among the women." In the one sex as well as the other there are individuals who far surpass most of the people in their passion to please.

237 301 Their excessive desire to please leads them to avail themselves of definite ornaments, besides the actual body painting in all its forms. Ankle bands (p. 99) are of a simple type; necklaces are more elaborate. Either the fine fibers of guanaco or whale tendon are plaited into a long cord and worn in several loops, or the latter is used to string short pieces of bone or small shells, *šon lišpúka*, of *Photinula violacea* are tied to it close together. These are the basic forms of the necklaces worn by the Yamana. Each of them also has certain unique touches. The small pieces of bone may be longer or shorter; clearly recognizable rings are incised in each of the longer ones, which are then supposed to look like small pieces. Moreover, the pieces that are naturally whitish are alternated with some that have been purposely blackened (p. 103). Finally, as a special pendant, the red beak of the oyster catcher (*Haematopus ater*, Fig. 76) is attached in the center, or four to six of these beaks are distributed along the lower half of the necklace (Fig. 103). Instead of the short pieces cut from thin, hollow bird bones, the Yamana, for variety, also string the short calcareous tubes of sea worms on a long tendon. Such small pieces

/1466/

• 237
301

Fig. 103. Necklace. Two-thirds natural size.

/1465 cont./

237 301 are not very regular, however; hence /1466/ /Fig. 103 appears here./ /1467/ this whole assemblage is not valued very much (Fig. 104). The simplest ornaments are those with only a single mussel shell or a small beak of a bird, or several of these pieces, hanging on the tendon. A long string of Photinula shells is regarded as the most beautiful and valuable neck ornament, for it

Fig. 104. Necklace. One-third natural size.

requires great care to make (Fig. 23). /Fig. 104 appears here./ 301 For this reason no woman who thinks well of herself is without this piece, which is sometimes more than three meters long. Fitz-Roy (a):201, and later Bridges (i):23, recognized that "the Fuegian necklaces show some ingenuity in those who make them, . . . that one is, at first, inclined to doubt their being the manufacture of such uncouth savages" /cited in English/. Spegazzini (a):161, too, does not refuse to acknowledge that these things represent "such careful work that they do not lack beauty" /translated from Spanish/. They indicate a well-developed, sensitive taste. The

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff stout saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island
342 shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

177 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, practically all the then
342 surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 188). Loth-
[237] rop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for
[356] sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 124, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

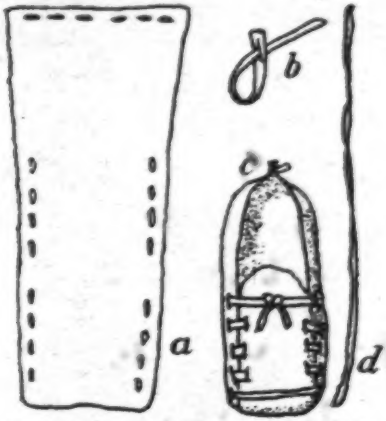

FIGURE 12.—*Yahgan* moccasin. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 46.)

291 probably borrowed them. The *Yahgan* occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of hide. The clothing of the *Yahgan* seems to us utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming role played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 138) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 423). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practiced as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 863), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors—red, black, and white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;

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white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple, confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Red symbolized Peace;

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells (*Photinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes.—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without crosspiece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, including paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or